

From England

LET JUSTICE ROLL DOWN LIKE WATERS: COMMUNITY CHAPLAINCY, THE BIG SOCIETY, AND REHABILITATION REVOLUTION

by Philip Whitehead

Introduction

For three successive New Labour administrations between 1997 and 2010, the spirit of the age was defined by the theme of modernisation. Subsequently since May 2010 when an alliance of Conservatives and Liberals unexpectedly joined forces to form an administration, the new spirit of the age could well be defined by the Big Society. Arguably the Big Society constitutes the central theme around which a narrative thread will be constructed to shape the direction of political travel, clarify priorities, and define policies, one of which is the rehabilitation revolution. In fact the splicing together of the Big Society with the rehabilitation revolution has profound implications for the operational functioning of the criminal justice system during the next few years, primarily because it will affect all those involved.

Prior to the general election of May 2010 the Conservative Party had already spoken of the Big Society and it remains problematic to specify its precise contours within the 'real' world of individuals, families, and local communities in different regions of England and Wales. Nevertheless it is most certainly driven by a clear image of a re-formed state and public sector. Essentially the Big Society constitutes the devolution of power and responsibility from central government to citizens in local communities, who will be expected to address their own issues and resolve their own problems. It is stated that government cannot be expected to solve every problem, meet every human need, and so small is beautiful in the way citizens themselves must accept responsibility for their own destinies. This resonates with the 19th century Victorian laissez-faire state as well as the neoliberal state which emerged in the 1970s, more than the immediate post-war

interventionist and inclusivist welfare state. Redirecting accountability outwards from a central hub towards all things local is an economic imperative because the Big Society is a tangible response to considerable reductions in state spending, the details of which were announced in the Comprehensive Spending Review of October 2010.

As already mentioned the Big Society has implications for the criminal justice system. Its manifestation through the rehabilitation revolution will build upon but also extend the ideology of the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) which, since 2003, has extolled the virtues of competition between the public, private, and the voluntary sectors to provide offender services. Additionally the Conservative Party in a Policy Green Paper published before the election of 2010 was keen to unlock the expertise of citizens in the voluntary sector specifically, to facilitate the goal of offender rehabilitation. It was made clear that:

At present, many charities are keen to expand their services, but they do not have access to the resources, while NOMS commissioning arrangements shut them out. We want to end the stifling influence of central and regional bureaucracies, and create new opportunities for third sector groups to enter the field of offender management B

Accordingly the drift of policy has been in the direction of encouraging and creating opportunities for the voluntary sector within the criminal justice domain. Importantly this has implications for faith communities in general and the relatively new phenomenon of community chaplaincy specifically.

The aim of this paper is to explore the religious question within contemporary criminal justice, informed by the Big Society and rehabilitation revolution, with particular emphasis trained upon the rationale of faith-based community chaplaincy. It should be elucidated that community chaplaincy began in Canada during the 1980s and then spread into England and Wales during the previous decade. Its central concern is to help ex-prisoners upon leaving prison by offering support to liberate them from crime and build a brighter future in the community. However the argument advanced within this paper is that in addition to providing a supportive presence for ex-prisoners as they return to the community, community chaplaincy has a moral responsibility to pursue the goals of criminal and social justice which demands critical engagement with political, social, and economic questions. I proceed as follows.

Initially it is imperative to situate the argument and the phenomenon of community chaplaincy against the background of a historical excursus which addresses the post-war Keynesian settlement and then, more significantly, the emergence of neoliberalism. Once this explanatory background has been outlined I proceed to expand upon the theme of the Big Society, along with some of its implications, contingent upon creating a smaller state and reductions in public expenditure. Next I turn to consider issues of faith and community chaplaincy within the contemporary criminal justice system, the expectations of the Big Society, and rehabilitation revolution. It is also important to clarify the role of community chaplaincy within criminal justice re-formation by taking account of the provision of unconditional support for ex-prisoners, as well as the demands of justice. I conclude with an outline strategy for the next five years which enhances the contribution of faith-orientated contributions.

From Keynes to Neoliberalism: setting the scene

It is possible to argue that creating a smaller state through reductions in public spending across most government departments, which is currently being pursued in England and Wales, will bring succour to troubled markets and breathe new life into a capitalist system which has been through periodic crises since the late 1700s. Accordingly it is initially necessary to sketch the broad historical trajectory of capitalism over recent decades which culminated in its latest phase of development, described by the term neoliberalism. However in pursuing this macro level enquiry it is pertinent to begin with the immediate post-war period, to establish a point of contrast, which was dominated by a set of identifiable features under the heading of the Keynesian post-war settlement characterised by the following features:

- An interventionist and regulatory state that manages the economy
- A commitment to full employment
- Mediating conflicts which periodically erupt between capital and labour
- A welfare-assistance state promoting inclusivity and social security for all
- The themes of consensus and citizenship

In marked contrast David Harvey traces the subsequent rise of the latest phase of capitalism to the political and economic convulsions of the 1970s which signalled the end of the Keynesian settlement. In other words the crisis decade of the 1970s established the conditions for a neoliberal

resurgence in the USA, UK, and other parts of the world which has been described as a “political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites” (2005 p19). Accordingly the neoliberal age which remains with us, notwithstanding the global economic turmoil since 2007 and the possibility of Keynesian regulatory modifications (implemented by the Liberal side of the coalition government?), is also characterised by a number of discernible features:

- A fundamental critique of the Keynesian regulatory state
- Reducing the power of trade unions to protect working people
- Socio-economic policies that benefit the few rather than the many
- Lower taxes in a deregulated economy
- Free markets, competition, and private over public sector solutions
- Reductions in social spending that engenders social insecurities
- The doctrine of individual and family responsibility
- Less central government which enables the voluntary sector to do more

Neoliberalism, embodying elements of 19th century Victorian liberalism (Garland 1985), has fostered a new set of “mental conceptions of the world” (Harvey 2010 p131) which have penetrated many aspects of human life from political priorities to accompanying transformations within organisations, including criminal justice operations (Whitehead 2010). Significantly the economic forces of neoliberalism which shape social relations have been responsible for social and moral dislocations exemplified by the widening gap between rich and poor in the USA, UK, Canada, and other countries (Broadbent 2009; Harvey 2005, 2010). Furthermore the empirically informed thesis of Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) asserts that inequality, correlated with neoliberal ideology, creates dysfunctional societies which are manifested by mental illness and drug taking, ill health and lower life expectancy, obesity, lower educational performance, increased levels of violence, crime, and harsher forms of punishment. Where the last point is concerned these authors proceed to explain that neoliberal societies result in more punishment and prison not because of escalating crime rates, but because the gap between rich and poor creates a culture of mistrust and fear. This, in turn, generates levels of insecurity to which people respond by striking out for reasons of self preservation. Little wonder that the subtitle of Wilkinson and Pickett’s book is called ***Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better***. Therefore everyone within the social hierarchy, from top

to bottom, is adversely affected by neoliberal culture and it is under these conditions that harsh punishment and the rhetoric of law and order “are deployed by the state as a commanding gesture of lordship and popular reassurance” (Garland 2001 p142).

Even though neoliberalism is a contested explanatory phenomenon as a recent collection of articles explain,¹ Wacquant boldly proclaims it constitutes a “transnational political project aiming to remake the nexus of market, state, and citizenship from above” (2009 p306). Accordingly there is a scholarly consensus that it emerged out of the turmoil of the 1970s, was pursued by the Conservatives after 1979 and later consolidated by New Labour after 1997. Even though the viability of capitalism has been seriously questioned during the recent economic crisis (Williams and Elliott 2010), it is possible that foregrounding the Big Society masks a much more fundamental political, social, and economic project which affords priority to economic reconstruction rather than the well-being of all citizens. In other words the groundwork is currently being laid to enable the neoliberal project to revive and then flourish beyond the current recessionary travails. Reducing the size of the state by cuts in public spending is part of this revivalist strategy, as is the cultivation of the Big Society.

The Big Society and criminal justice

Establishing a smaller state and reducing public sector services in response to economic difficulties caused by unchecked financial recklessness creates the conditions for the Big Society to evolve. Therefore there will be a discernible shift from central government to civil society, the voluntary sector and charities, a veritable responsabilisation strategy. At first sight there is something appealing if not morally robust about the way in which the Big Society advocates the devolution of power and responsibility from the centre towards individuals, families, and local communities. By contrast a more critical reading of what is currently taking shape is that reconfiguring the state is designed primarily to ensure the longevity of a neoliberal view of the world. Accordingly the dystopian viewpoint is that the Big Society is smoke and mirrors, a diversionary tactic that dumps responsibility for problems being generated by the nature of the political economy itself. This can be explained by acknowledging that neoliberalism, just like the evolutionary trajectory of capitalism over the last two hundred years, creates

winners and losers because its essence is that some people benefit more than others. By facilitating the conditions for neoliberalism to revive and flourish is just as likely to create an elite stable of economic successes as to perpetuate a growing divide between rich and poor, entrench poverty, and expand inequality. This dystopian analysis of the implications of state restructuring as the basis for the expansion of civil society could well be overloaded, but implications there will be during the next five years.

When the Big Society is applied to the criminal justice system it is articulated in terms of a rehabilitation revolution which maintains the focus on fighting crime and reducing reoffending. It also includes addressing the perennial crisis within the prison system by reducing the numbers currently incarcerated from 85,000 to 82,000; breaking the repeated cycle of criminal behaviour; retributive punishments that must continue to fit the crime; developing effective community sentences alongside restorative justice; and the revival of a rehabilitative strategy. Significantly, as was mentioned earlier, the rehabilitation revolution is committed to utilising resources within the voluntary sector to achieve its objectives. Accordingly the voluntary sector is being encouraged to get more involved in the delivery of criminal justice, a theme that complements the Big Society which is part of government strategy to occupy the vacuum created by reducing state employees within prisons, probation, and the courts. What precisely this could mean by the time we arrive at the next election in 2015 remains to be seen, but the rationale of the Big Society and rehabilitation revolution will rely on liberating the expertise within the voluntary sector. Furthermore the faith sector and community chaplaincy are expected to play an enhanced role, to which we now turn.

Faith perspectives and community chaplaincy

There is a well established association between religion, the emergence and reform of prisons, and other features of criminal justice formation in the USA, Canada, England and Wales. Religion influenced the origin of the penal system in the USA (O'Connor 2004) and in Canadian penitentiaries the reformatory efficacy of religion upon the imprisoned was a salient feature when crime was equated with sin (Jones 1990). Religious influences also stimulated prison reform in England and Wales as well as the emergence of the probation system over one hundred years ago (Whitehead and Statham 2006). Therefore it has been claimed on a firm evidential basis that "religion has been a major force in shaping the ways in which offenders are dealt with" (Garland 1990 p203).

When turning to more recent events, even though successive New Labour governments between 1997 and 2010 were reluctant *to do God*, a religious footprint most certainly persists within the criminal justice domain. In fact during the previous decade we have witnessed a resurgence of interest in the **religious question** which coincided with structural re-developments associated with the emergence of the National Offender Management Service after 2003. The point is germane that NOMS has been committed to diversifying the provision of offender services by drawing attention to the private and voluntary sectors in what is becoming an internal market of criminal justice provision (consistent with neoliberal ideology). This is set to continue during the next five years with the impetus provided by the Big Society and rehabilitation revolution. Moreover it is within this context that faith communities and community chaplaincy have been singled out for attention.

Some six months after NOMS came into existence in June 2004 a National Conference was held in November of that year to facilitate the inchoate relationship between NOMS and the voluntary sector. This event was followed by a **Draft Strategy** (NOMS 2005a) which articulated proposals concerning NOMS and the voluntary sector working together. This is a significant document because it takes seriously the relationship between NOMS and voluntary and community sector organisations (VCS) which were then beginning to shape the philosophical orientation of NOMS in terms of creating a mixed economy of offender services which will be delivered by different providers. The draft strategy was quickly followed by an **Action Plan** (NOMS 2005b) to facilitate partnerships between the voluntary sector, prisons and probation. One such partner is **The Faith and Voluntary and Community Sector Alliance**, a component of the then government's strategy for tackling social exclusion and crime (NOMS 2005c). Even though the provision of advice, assistance, and friendship may no longer be de rigueur within the state-run probation service (Whitehead 2010), the provision of practical advice, pastoral support, mentoring and befriending are acceptable features within the VCS and faith communities. Accordingly the Faith and Voluntary and Community Sector Alliance

brings together representatives of faith groups and secular organisations from the voluntary sector to encourage 'joined up' or partnership working. One example of this is the development of community chaplaincy projects of faith based volunteers to continue the level of support available to a prisoner through the prison gate on release and into the community (NOMS 2005c p1).

By 2005 momentum was building concerning the *religious question* within the NOMS structure and the contribution faith groups can make to the rehabilitation of offenders within the criminal justice system. This was exemplified in September 2005 when it was stated by a former Home Secretary, Charles Clarke, that the

concept of community chaplaincy is a good example of how the faith and voluntary sector can help. Community chaplaincy provides a bridge between prison and the community. It takes prisoners from the gate and supports them as they start their new lives, building the links between churches and the community. There are now 10 community chaplaincies in existence and 11 more in development. Community chaplaincy is not the creation of Government. It has grown up from the grass roots, and we must nurture it. It is an initiative to which many faith groups, not just Christian, are contributing. It is an excellent example of how an alliance can work (Clarke 2005 p7).

Subsequently by 2010 the Community Chaplaincy Association of England and Wales had established its own website providing details of projects located at Feltham, Wandsworth, Wormwood Scrubs, and Basic Caring Communities in London; Leicester, Manchester, Birmingham, Buckinghamshire, North Staffordshire, Durham (women only and located at Low Newton), Exeter, Lewes, Swansea, and Leeds.² Accordingly these community chaplaincy locations are beginning to create a national network of support for released prisoners which ideally utilises the resources of local churches, diverse faith traditions, and volunteers in a mentoring capacity. The vision, which resonates with the original Canadian gene code from the 1980s, is to help ex-prisoners to achieve successful re-entry by offering support and services to free themselves from crime and build a brighter future in the community. Furthermore this faith-based initiative is timely because it resonates with the Big Society. Therefore one should not underestimate the importance being attached to community chaplaincy within the context of state and accompanying criminal justice re-formation which is currently gathering impetus.

Community chaplaincy is separate from, but linked to, multi-faith chaplaincy arrangements within the prison system in England and Wales. Some are located within prison establishments and others beyond the gate. Critically

most community chaplaincies in England and Wales utilise volunteers to achieve numerous objectives which include: to support people at the point of release from prison to lead a crime free life; build safer communities; protect the public and reduce the number of victims. Moreover these objectives will be achieved by responding to the accommodation needs of ex-prisoners; provide opportunities to achieve the requisite skills to enhance employment opportunities by signposting towards other organisational interventions; advice on finances, benefits, substance abuse, physical and mental health issues; transform attitudes, thinking, and behaviours; to provide pastoral counselling and support consistent with the values traditionally associated with faith communities. In June 2010 the Justice Secretary, Ken Clarke, when announcing a rehabilitation revolution clarified that it will make better use of the latent expertise in the voluntary sector, and that non-governmental organisations will be paid by results to reduce crime. It is within this prevailing context that community chaplaincy is being encouraged to realise its vision of helping ex-prisoners to desist from crime. At this point it is necessary to clarify the role of faith communities and specifically community chaplaincy within criminal justice re-formation by drawing attention to two key features.

Defining the role of community chaplaincy in the rehabilitation revolution

Provide unconditional support for ex-prisoners

Criminal justice systems are comprised of complex and contested features, one of which is an *instrumental* mode of thought. What this means is that governments expect their criminal justice organisations such as prison and probation systems to be effective at achieving a specific goal, namely rehabilitative transformation and social control. Even though voluntary sector organisations and faith communities cannot avoid being affected by this instrumental rationality, particularly when the rehabilitative revolution is advocating payment by results, it does not define the essence of community chaplaincy. Therefore I offer for reflection and debate the position that the Community Chaplaincy Association should continue to fashion a distinctive place for itself during the process of criminal justice re-formation which is currently unfolding. Specifically it can train and mobilise volunteers to work as mentors, encourage the capacity for goodwill within churches and other faith traditions, and build supportive relationships that express care and concern towards ex-prisoners as they leave custodial institutions. Arguably

this is the terrain best suited to community chaplaincy which would then leave other public, private, and voluntary sector organisations to provide a range of services and programmes that address, for example, employment, accommodation, and substance abuse.

However the substantive point for emphasis is that empathy, understanding, building supportive relationships, and setting a good behavioural example to ex-prisoners are not solely undertaken as a means-to-an-end, but rather end-in-itself. Accordingly there is a *moral* as well as *instrumental* demand upon community chaplaincy to provide unconditional support regardless of the impact upon recidivism. The dominant story line of reducing crime is as understandable as it is desirable, but the distinctive contribution of community chaplaincy to the rehabilitation revolution operates within a moral framework that reaches beyond a narrow instrumentalism. It is this perspective which differentiates faith-orientated contributions from that of other organisational domains in an increasingly market orientated field of criminal justice providers. Community chaplaincy is enjoined to serve others, to translate faith into practical action, and to do this unconditionally in its work with ex-prisoners regardless of who they are, what they have done, and what the outcome might be. Additionally this perspective is informed by the notion of shared well-being and mutuality which has been expressed theologically as follows:

No element in the Body is dispensable or superfluous: what affects one affects all, for good and ill, since both suffering and flourishing belong to the entire organism not to any individual or purely local grouping (Williams 2010 p25).

This theological insight introduces the concept of justice which proceeds beyond, yet is related to, support for the individual.

The inescapable demand of justice

The point considered earlier is important enough to reiterate by stating that David Harvey locates the vagaries of the human condition within the changing fortunes of a capitalist economic system. The immediate post-war period may well have been shaped by the Keynesian settlement, but the crisis of the 1970s precipitated a neoliberal resurgence which pervaded the UK, USA, Canada, as well as other countries. There are those who argue that there is no alternative to a capitalist economic system, primarily because it generates the wealth to make the world go round. However the advocates of this system must also

observe its differential impacts, illustrated by unequal opportunities, persistent inequality, and social insecurities embedded amongst the most vulnerable sections of the community where one is most likely to locate offenders and ex-prisoners. Furthermore the links between neoliberalism and social dislocations including crime, deviance, and harsh punishments are well documented (Garland 2001; Wacquant 2009; Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). Neoliberal ideology also elevates the economic successes of a small minority before social cohesion and security for the many, which is a considerable indictment of its functioning within a competitive, Darwinian survival of the fittest, market place. Nevertheless it should be acknowledged when reflecting on the demands of justice that there is a tradition of biblical, prophetic, and theological engagement with social and economic questions which, in turn, can be extrapolated to critique contemporary material conditions within which ex-prisoners live, move, and have their being. Consequently as the size of the state is reduced, as it withdraws from public places and spaces, and the Big Society expands, the potential impacts of these developments for criminal and social justice must trouble faith communities in general and community chaplaincy in particular. Therefore analysis and response can be facilitated by taking account of the following perspective.

First there is a prophetic tradition of social protest contained within Old Testament literature. For illustrative purposes it may be recalled that the situation in Northern Israel around 760 to 750 BC was one which precipitated a prophetic response. The relevant text from this period suggests that Amos was a layman, a casual labourer, not a professional prophet or state representative (Jones 1968 p17). Specifically there were marked contrasts between the nouveau riche and the poor, as well as corruption in the law courts, markets, and high society. It was to this situation that the prophetic voice spoke the word of social justice to those in a position of leadership. Second, in the 20th century, William Temple (1942) pondered the relationship between Christianity and the nature of the social order. Next, in the 1960s religion played its part in the civil rights movement within the United States, and then during the 1970s and 1980s liberation theology engaged with unjust political, social, and economic conditions that pertained in Latin America. Finally, also in the 1980s but this time England and Wales, Faith in the City (Church of England 1985) criticised Thatcherite neoliberal policies and in doing so was allegedly dismissed by one Cabinet Minister as a Marxist text. It is also claimed that the Prime Minister herself remarked

that “There’s nothing about self-help or doing anything for yourself in the report” (Wyatt 1999 p22). There was a growing divide between rich and poor in the 1980s to which Faith in the City articulated a critical response, a divide which has grown ever wider since.

Faith in the City gave the church a voice in the inner city as it spoke the word of justice on behalf of the poor and disadvantaged through integrating theology, spirituality, and political engagement. It spoke of the common good which in our own time resonates with a powerful collection of essays on ethics, economics, and justice (Williams and Elliott 2010). Accordingly there is a long-standing tradition of critical engagement of faith and theological reflection with political, social, and economic forces. These are the forces to which all of us are differentially related for good or ill, they generate employment and unemployment, material comforts and poverty, opportunities and inequalities, prospects for some yet relegate others to a marginalised existence where daily experience is one of hopelessness. As much as diverse faith communities and community chaplaincy must offer support to ex-prisoners, there is also the imperative to engage with the pressing demands of social justice. Any dilution of this dual *individual-support* and *social-justice* responsibility risks religion in general, and the rationale of faith communities and community chaplaincy in particular, being reduced to a narrow ideological apparatus of the state that legitimates prevailing political, social, and economic arrangements. In other words there is always the danger that simply doing good towards the individual perpetuates criminal and social in-justice because of a failure to take account of the impacts of neoliberalism and the corresponding social circumstances of ex-prisoners before they enter prison and then following their release. So where do we go from here?

Conclusion: strategy for the future

A warning needs to be issued that the Big Society can be constructed pejoratively. Under the guise of devolving power and responsibility to the voluntary sector and civil society, including faith communities, the state absolves itself from the consequences of its own policies by locating responsibility elsewhere. Therefore the economic health of the few within a reconfigured competitive market place is put before the well-being of the many who must get what assistance they can within their own local communities. Similarly the rehabilitation revolution can be constructed pejoratively, as nothing more than the convenient manipulation of words

and the recycling of old ideas to enable the private and voluntary sectors to plug the gaps left by organisational transformations within prisons, probation, and the courts. Again the harsh reality could be that the state absolves itself from direct responsibility for its own social and economic policies, primarily to reduce costs. Accordingly the churches, diverse faith communities, and particularly the place of community chaplaincy within the criminal justice system must remain alert to such possibilities.

However it may equally be suggested that the current re-formation of the state should be seized as an opportunity by the voluntary sector, diverse faith communities, and community chaplaincy to engage fully with the Big Society and rehabilitation revolution. But rather than collude with government-led reforms, these sectors should establish a more critical relationship with central government and its criminal justice domain. This most certainly means that community chaplaincy and its volunteers will continue to provide unconditional support to people exiting the prison system. But it must also respond to the demands of criminal and social justice. Its metier is the former but it must acquire the acumen to engage with the latter precisely because:

at every stage of the economic cycle, it is mainly the poor, the unemployed and the minority populations who are the most heavily penalised. It has always been and it remains true that the rich are overprotected and undercontrolled, whilst the poor are overcontrolled and underprotected... (Hudson 1993 p72).

If it is the case that people of faith in general and community chaplaincy specifically should be concerned with matters of criminal and social justice as the tradition cited earlier suggests, how can this be put into practice? Notwithstanding the difficulties involved in formulating a response to this question I'd like to suggest that this can be pursued through Clinks, based in York, and established in 1998 to support voluntary and community organisations in their work with offenders. Clinks was also capacity building within community chaplaincy during 2006-2008, and significantly has a seat on the NOMS Management Board. Therefore community chaplaincy can work through Clinks to communicate with policy makers within government the issues confronting ex-prisoners after release, as well as the structural obstacles inhibiting community chaplaincy achieving its vision to reduce crime. Therefore the response of people of faith must embrace social and political dimensions, and community chaplaincy must not underestimate its capacity to change the parameters and direction of current debates.

Finally what I say to community chaplaincy and people of faith involved with the criminal justice system, the Big Society, and rehabilitation revolution, is to seize the moment. You are being encouraged to take your seat at the high table by accepting more responsibility, so take your opportunities. However you must seize the moment and grasp opportunities with care, not out of a blinkered desire to collude but rather a commitment to engage critically. This will ensure that people leaving prison will continue to receive support, as well as honouring a theological tradition of speaking the word of justice when economic policies adversely affect certain sections of society, particularly ex-prisoners. Who is willing to work out an intellectually coherent strategy to take this forward during the next five years?

1. I draw attention to a special issue of Criminology and Criminal Justice: An International Journal. In Volume 10, Number 4, November 2010, the interested reader will find a collection of articles which both endorse and critique some recent thinking on neoliberalism, criminal justice, and penal policy, which are worth reading.
2. The author has obtained permission from NOMS, as well as the generous support of Clinks and Kevin Armstrong from the Community Chaplaincy Association, to undertake research on community chaplaincy. This research involves interviews at Durham, Leeds, Manchester, Leicester, Swansea, and London, and the data collection stage should be completed by June 2011. A research-based report should then be completed by December 2011 which constitutes the first of its kind in England and Wales on community chaplaincy.

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